

Federally Administered Tribal Areas {FATA}

A Misnomer

Abstract.

FATA is making headlines all over the globe since 9/11, considered as bastion of fundamentalism, a safe haven for terrorists, most dangerous place on earth. In last decade and half, innumerable conferences and papers have been written all over, highlighting the causes and offering the solutions. This paper differs from other in a way that it is based upon empirical study and highlights the hypothesis that the very first issue is in understanding and dealing the whole tribal area as individual tribe and valley rather than taking them as a collective single entity.

Introduction.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province have two boundaries, one which marks the administrative limits and other which shows the international border with Afghanistan known more commonly as Durand line, the area between these two is known as tribal area, alaqah or Federally Administered Tribal areas. FATA represents the seven political agencies namely North Waziristan, South Waziristan, Kurram, Khyber, Orakzai, Mohmand and Bajaur Agency. These political agencies took birth in 1878 onward with Khyber Agency as the very first such political system to be enforced in tribal areas. Few of the political agencies have died in the years like Malakand, Swat and Chitral political agency, Zhob Agency is another such case. On the other hand few have been given birth in recent past which includes Orakzai Political Agency, Mohmand and Bajaur all taking birth after 1960 with Orakzai being formed in 1973 being carved out of Khyber and Kurram political agencies.

The common feature among all the political agencies is the language which with minor variation is understood and spoken in all, dress code is also the same although choice of colour is variable, religion is Islam and leaving apart Kurram agency which is adherent of Shia sect all other are practicing Sunni sect. Another hallmark of these political agencies is the fact that these all have border or frontier with Afghanistan, few of them have tribes living on both side of Durand Line. By and large it is taken for granted among academia and other stratum that they are from one race and stock, have universal code of living known as Pakhtunwali, thus what stands true for one agency holds true for the other as well. Apart from these seven political agencies there are six Frontier Regions which also form part of FATA, these Frontier Regions as compared to the political agencies are more in line with settled district administration pattern. A Political Agent nominated and appointed by the federal government {President of Pakistan} and as such is answerable directly to him through the governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province and not to the chief minister or prime minister.

The constitution of Pakistan as such is not applied in strict sense in these political agencies rather they have their own Frontier Crimes Regulation {FCR} to deal with the everyday issue of law and order. Inside the political agencies the regular army is not stationed less in Khyber Agency, Militia were raised simultaneously with the raising of these political agencies and in 1907 they were put under an administrative headquarters which is known as Frontier Corps, presently Frontier Corps Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have thirteen such corps each corroborating to either tribe or the agency in which it is stationed, these corps have static headquarters and are composed entirely of tribal areas and tribesmen.

Aim of Paper. To highlight that much of present unrest in FATA is mainly due to the fact in our treating them as a single entity whereas they are different; and peace and stability can be achieved by treating political agencies on historical basis.

Historicism, FATA or Tribal Areas

FATA or tribal areas contrary to common perception were not living on the marginalised frontier in the course of history, void of civilisation; rather the history of Indus Civilisation takes root from these tribes. The Aryans which migrated from Central Asia high mountains in second millennium towards the plains of Indus Valley passed through these passes which are now occupied by these tribes and there is no logic to deny the fact that among many of the Aryan tribes few of them settled and are still living notable among them are Wazir and Afridi tribes. The lack of identity among the Aryan tribes along with a host of non-Aryan tribes is a major source of misunderstanding and misinterpreting the present tribal societies.

Historicism of FATA is the history of Aryan tribes itself, the present cultural values of Pathans which are regarded as Pakthunwali {Code of Pashtun or Pathan} including hospitality, revenge, social values regarding womenfolk are all a carry forward from the ancient Aryans as depicted in Rig Veda.

FATA the tribal belt of Pakistan north western frontier adjoining Afghanistan is inhabited by Pathan tribes¹, for a greater length with the exception of over 400 kilometres long jagged frontier in the extreme north which is non Pashtun in nature and more or less a princely state known as Chitral or Kashkar, presently it is a settled district. FATA have a population of 3,176,331 which constitutes almost 2.4% of Pakistan population with an area of 27,220 square Kilometers, only 3.1% of population resides in established townships².

FATA term was not used in the 1956 Constitution of Pakistan 'the territories which are under the administration of the Federation but are not included in either Provinces'³. However in 1973 Constitution the term FATA has been employed⁴. British used the term 'Tribal Areas' during their period to describe the present day FATA, incidentally the tribal Areas were not mentioned in the 18th July 1947 India Independence Act passed by the British Parliament, which states that only those areas including West Bengal, West Punjab, Sindh, area under Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan will form part of new dominion, province of North West Frontier{NWFP} was in doldrum as a referendum was to be held and it was conditional⁵, moreover the Act {7[c]} states.

'there lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise'.

It was only after the creation of Dominion of Pakistan that the first Governor General Muhammad Ali Jinnah the founder of Pakistan visited Tribal Areas in April 1948 and was able to negotiate an agreement with tribal elders who announced their loyalty towards Pakistan with an increased in subsidies and grants granted to them⁶. Quaid E Azam had to strike the deal individually with every valley and pass holding tribes, with Afridis of Khyber; which Quaid visited on 2nd April 1948 and went as far as to Torkham border, with the Wazir tribes at Bannu, also in 1948. The point to highlight is that these tribal areas acted in the historical continuity, the geographical layout of the tribal areas by nature divides it into two distinct halves. The eastern or southern half is the Waziristan with Safeed Koh Ridge acting as the dividing line, the western or northern area is Afridi territory. Both of these sides/ areas are inhabited by the tribes, each having a historical standing basing upon the fighting strength and not on religious ranking.

FATA- Geographical Pivot of History.

Mackinder in his famous 1905 essay termed the area of Central Asia as the 'Geographical Pivot of History'⁷, his hypothesis can be further extended basing the events of last century and Khyber Pass emerges as the geographical pivot of Pakistan and for that matter of entire Sub Continent, along with Khyber Pass, Kurram Valley and Tochi Valley are two other strong contenders in term of history for the coveted position of geographical pivot. In present form, Peshawar and the Bannu are two cardinal cities of Frontier, west of Indus.

Around the passes and valleys of HinduKush the earliest form of Aryan civilisation flourished, Herodotus the Father of History mentioned about the 'most warlike tribe living in the north of Indus Valley'⁸. Alexander the Great and subsequent rule of almost three hundred years in the Indus Valley have

¹ Khan, Ismail (2007). *"Plan ready to curb militancy in Fata, settled areas"*. Newsweek international edition. Dawn.com. Archived from [the original](#) on 2007-07-11. Retrieved 2007-06-27.

² http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/1711316.stm#story

³ http://pakistan.space.tripod.com/archives/56_00.htm, *Documents and Speeches on the Constitution of Pakistan* By G. W. Choudhury (1967). Green Book House, Dacca (East Pakistan) also see Article 1 {2} {C} of 1956 Constitution of Pakistan.

⁴ 1973 Constitution 1 {2} {c}

⁵ <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/parliamentary-archives/archives-highlights/indian-independence/> Section 2 of the Act passed on 18th July 1947.

⁶ Khyber Rifles Archives Landi Kotal.

⁷ H. J. Mackinder *The Geographical Pivot of History* *The Geographical Journal* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Apr., 1904), pp. 421-437 DOI: 10.2307/1775498 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1775498>

⁸ Herodotus *The Historia*, translated by George Rawlinson, ed Manuel Komroff, { New York ; Tudor, ,1928 }, p-182.

no empirical evidences left other than the Blue Eye⁹ myth. Main passes along the western wall that forms the frontier of Indus Civilisation ‘ HinduKush’ are Darwaza {gateway } in Chitral, almost four hundred miles north of Peshawar, Nawagai in the north west, 100 miles away from Peshawar . History of frontier is woven around these two with varying approach towards the statehood, nationhood, religion, tribal structure, and culture ; language with some variation and dress code is the binding factor and commonality , other than sharing common frontier with Afghanistan.

Geography and history are interlink, if the geography of an area can be retained , as in FATA {in few valleys} than the history is bound to repeat itself in such environment, where ever the geography has been altered through the roads, railways, dams; the history recurrence is not predictable.

Durand ‘Thin Red’ Line

On independence in 1947, the Durand Line or the western frontiers of Pakistan were not as crystalised as were its eastern borders, the very first fact was the legality of the Durand –Rehman agreement of 1893, Dost Muhammd- Lawrence agreement of 1856 at Peshawar and the Treaty of Gandamask of 1879, under these treaties the present day Quetta, Chaman, Pishin, Zhob, Waziristan, Khyber Pass, were handed over to British East India Company and later to British Crown. The 18th July 1947, Independence Act of India as passed by British parliament , states ‘ all such agreement as made in the past by the British stands nullified , under the heading *Consequences of setting up new Dominions*¹⁰

7.--(1) As from the appointed day- (a) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the government of any of the territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India ;

all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all functions. exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise , and (c) there lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise Provided that, notwithstanding anything in paragraph .

Thus most of the present conflicts are not merely caused by the resurgence of militancy in the aftermath of 9/11, rather majority of them have the historical continuity, which has been accentuated by the modern statesman ship ; the underlying chord remains identical to the Great Game theme.

Malakand Agency- {Chitral-Dir-Swat- Bajaur- Mohmand }

Malakand Political Agency was raised in 1894, encompassing the present day Chitral, Dir, Swat and Malakand area, Swat was incorporated later, in 1970 after the abolition of the states itself, the agency was also abolished and made a settled part of province¹¹. These three states have a historical background in relation to unrest on western frontier, where as Chitral and Dir are centuries old states , Swat is relatively young raised in 1920, in an effort to pacify the area, a kind of liberal state among the more fundamentalist Dir. Chitral and Dir never had good relations over an extended period, main cause was the religion. In Chitral the Kafir tribes still live, they have been religiously persecuted by the Afghans in 1894-95, resultantly the Kafiristan on the west of Durand Line was named as Nuristan. Apart from the princely disputes which time and again surfaced between Dir and Chitral, religion persecution was the sole unifying factor in combining the tribes of Dir under Nawab of Jandol and Lallpura

⁹ Blue Eye refers to the mindperception about running Greek blood in some of the native tribes, The Kafir tribe in Chitral is most notable, Afridis also have quite a high number of Blue eye population, among Khattak tribe it is almost non existent; Wazir and Mahsud have a fair number of Blue Eyes.

¹⁰ Indian Independence Act, 1947. ro & ii GEO. 6. CH. 30.

http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1947/30/pdfs/ukpga_19470030_en.pdf

¹¹

http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=891&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=181&no_cache=1#.V13BK9IrKt8

Durand line does not run in the middle of River Kunar rather it has given the river to Afghanistan, resultantly the native tribes, naturally does not respect the international boundary. Nawagai Pass on the edge of Dir has been an ancient pass for east-west movement, Alexander the Great himself came into Indus Civilisation through this pass. One of the most fierce battle fought by his forces occurred in this area.

In 1992, the first major insurgency in the area started, cause was the religion, with local demanding implementation of Islamic Sharia, Frontier Corps carried out the operations against the insurgents, one notable element of this insurgency was its restriction and influence among the local tribes of Malakand agency, other Pathan tribes remain aloof from this conflict. This strengthens the hypothesis that the insurgency in FATA is not deep rooted among all Pathan tribes rather it is more on local clans basis.

Chitral although is not part of FATA as it is a settled district, yet the fact that till 1970 it was a princely state still have its impact on the native politics and way of life. Another factor which makes Chitral as part of FATA is the presence of Chitral Scouts, a hundred years old militia, having natives as the fighting power, commanded and it shares a 470 kilometres frontier with Afghanistan, it also is divided ethnically on Pathan and Chitral clans, with lower Chitral (Drosh and surroundings including Arandu) as bastion of Pathan tribes. Chitral by virtue of sharing the over four hundred kilometres long frontier with Afghanistan provides a Model for analysing the current wave of militancy, by and large it has remained free of suicide attacks in the area which the other parts of the FATA have been hit on almost daily basis. Trouble started in earnest in Chitral on 28th August 2012 when over eleven posts of Chitral Scouts were attacked in Arandu area with Chitral scouts suffering over twenty casualties. In another incident Greek national was kidnapped from Kafir village and later released on paying ransom.

Chitral thus defies the geographic hypothesis of having militancy by virtue of geography, rather it is the historical strand of remaining away from the Afghanistan affair, people being part of a system and following the leader or the ruler. Lest it not be taken as a nonviolent area, in 1893 the Siege of Chitral was a major affair, which involved heavy movement of British troops, resultantly Chitral Scouts were raised in 1903 and political agent (Malakand-Swat-Chitral) was looking after the political affairs. Between 1973-1992, Chitral Scouts revolted twice, in one instance it besieged the parade ground at Chitral and made truce after settling down on an agreement in which the ruling class acted as guarantee. Chitral till 2005 was accessed through the Afghanistan in winter for travelling by all, between Peshawar and Chitral. Presently the Lowari Tunnel is operative in winter on selected days, over all Chitral depicts an area of poverty with only former princes and princesses enjoying and living a life of comfort. Politically, Pakistan Peoples Party won the lone national assembly seat from here from 1970 onwards, at present the member of former ruling clan, from All Pakistan Muslim League of former president and army chief General retired Pervaiz Musharraf, is representing Chitral in national assembly.

An intricate web of princely politics is the main hurdle in Chitral's progress, the Arandu-Mirkhani road has been left incomplete due to stoppage of funds from the United Arab Emirates the chief sponsor, a fall out of Pakistan remaining neutral in the war on Yemen. Lowari Tunnel despite its strategic importance is yet to be completed, whereas within three years the Attabad Lake tunnels have been completed. One of the key factor in this delay is in the constitutional layout of the Chitral, it is part of province and as such federal capital has limited offers to make, more so when the politically opponent parties are in power, as in present. Thus, Chitral, should be governed by the centre rather than by the province, purely due to its strategic position and impact on the tribal areas and over all Great Game.

Mohmand Agency was the very first political agency raised after Pakistan in 1951¹². **Bajaur Agency** was initially raised after the 1960 operations and granted full status in 1973. However before 1947, Khyber Agency was the sole agency looking after the other two as well. Raising of new political agencies was a wise step by the government. In Mohmand agency the predominant tribe is Mohmand, which lives on both side of Durand Line, thus Mohmand tribe is among those few Pathan tribes which have homes and blood relations in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Geographically, River Kabul bisects the Khyber Agency, separating the Afridis from Mohmand tribe in the north-east, on the outer periphery of Peshawar City. The trio of these agencies present a varied outlook when seen after fifteen years of War on Terror. Khyber Agency remained peaceful when other two were burning with fundamentalism, Khyber Pass remained opened for all kind of trade in these fifteen years, which is a credit to Khyber Rifles as well as to the political administration. Other notable

¹² Ph.D Thesis *Mohmand Agency* Peshawar University, 1989, p-13. Also see Amir Rana, Safdar Sial, Abdul Basit Dynamics in Taliban Insurgency in FATA, (Islamabad, Pak Institute, 2014). pp23-56.

features among all three agencies is the presence of Militia, Frontier Corps which have separate corps namely Khyber Rifles, Mohmand Rifles and Bajaur Scouts in the area.

Bajaur is the odd agency among three, it was part of princely state system, being ruled by the Nawab of Khar and was made part of the Pakistan after the 1960 operation in the area. Bajaur is a historical area, most likely Alexander the Great faced stiff resistance here, so was the Babur founder of Mughul Dynasty, as such, the reigniting of resistance and militancy is not a surprising factor. Bajaur after 1960, still had the ruling nawab running the affairs as he was elected as member of national assembly, it was in 1988 that Nawab of Nawagai won the elections; after his death the clout of nawab clan was broken at least in parliament with a businessman being elected. Bajaur is inhabited by Utman Khel and Tarkanri tribes.

Thus Chitral's politics, economy, history and future is interlinked with the Dir, Swat and to happenings in Mohmand and Bajaur political agencies.

Khyber, Pivot of Subcontinental Past and Future

Khyber Political Agency was raised in 1878, thus it is the oldest political agency on western frontiers, Khyber Political Agency was created as an after effect of Second Afghan War, in order to secure the Khyber Pass. Political Agent was directly responsible to the Viceroy of India and not to the Government of Punjab. Along with the raising of agency, local militia was also raised known initially as Khyber Jezailchis and later as Khyber Rifles. The agency is over whelming populated by Afridi tribe having eight sub clans; other small tribes includes Shinwari, Mullagori and Shilman, all tribes less Afridi lives on eastern or northern side of Khyber Pass.

Khyber Agency is in limelight due to militancy and operations against it, however, it is a fact that agency remained aloof from the activities of miscreants or religious fundamentalism till 2009, when the minor operations were initiated in Bara Valley and full scale operations were carried out in 2012-2014. Khyber Agency, is truly an Afridi agency, no other agency have such over whelming population and influence of a single tribe as Afridis enjoyed it in Khyber Agency. Geographically, agency is divided in two glaring halves. One half, the northern is the area between the Bara River and Kabul River, the other being the area between the Bara River and the Kohat Pass. Afridi clans are distributed between these two rivers, Kuki Khel, Zakkha Khel controls the Khyber Pass and road from Torkham to Jamrud. Whereas Mangal Bagh, Sipah, and Adam Khel are on the west of Bara River. The most intense fight and battles in last fifteen years have been waged against the Mangal Bagh tribe only; with Zakkha Khel joining the state after being given few relaxations in the cultivation and transportation of Charas, the cash crop of the agency.

Khyber Pass which is controlled apart from the state by the two clans of Afridi { Kuki and Zakkha Khel} remained open throughout these turbulent years, the most plausible reason when seen in historical context is the dependence of these two clans on the taxes and subsidy which they gain from the traffic on the Khyber Pass. It is a historical levy and is collected even today by the tribe in one form or the other from the public. This economic incentive is the cardinal reason for these two clans remaining aloof from their own tribal blood Mangal Bagh, for the fear of losing their economic clout.

Khyber Pass has under gone a revolution in recent past, the new metallic two way road was inaugurated in August 2015, this has increased the volume of cargo trucks from 600 daily to 1800 daily. The fresh fruits from Kabul can now be sold in Lahore or in Delhi same day. In coming days, the pass is bound to play a key role as it has been doing for millenniums, the trade route for India is bound to pass through this pass only. The behaviour of Afridi has undergone a silent revolution too, in 1919 during the Third Afghan War, majority of Khyber Rifles posts were over run by the Afridi tribesmen, but no such incident occurred in last decade and half.

Within Khyber Agency there are two corps of Frontier Corps, namely Khyber Rifles at Landi Kotal and Mahsud Scouts at Fort Millward in Bara Valley, moreover, Khyber is the only agency where army remained in station despite the Operation Curzon of 1947, under which army was pulled out from all other political agencies; even today a brigade of Pakistan Army is stationed at Landi Kotal. This factor is important as in other agencies there never was any permanent garrisoning by Pakistan Army and whenever it was deployed there was a resistance from tribes but not so in Landi Kotal or among the Afridis.

Waziristan - Kurram, North and South Waziristan, Orakzai Agencies.

The other half of FATA is geographically, historically and politically is different from the Khyber or Peshawar Vale, Waziristan was the term which was used on maps before the Durand line to depict the area south or west of Kohat ridge; the ridge line itself with Safeed Koh mountain at an elevation of 14000 feet is the highest in the region. In Waziristan, if using the old nomenclature, the main cities are Kohat, Bannu and Miranshah.

Kurram political agency was raised in 1894 with headquarters at Para Chinar. Orakzai Agency on the contrary was raised in 1973, carving out a small territory from the Frontier region of Kohat District. Kurram Agency is the only agency among the seven agencies of FATA which is a Shia majority area and as such almost all violence in the agency is attributed directly or indirectly to inter-sectarian hate. Turi is the major tribe in Kurram valley,

Kurram valley originates from the Afghan border with River Kurram flowing all the way down south before it joins River Tochi and later both fall in River Indus. In the last century it was an Afghan dominion having governors appointed by Kabul. Strategically, valley has been important in the centuries gone by, British in First and second Anglo - Afghan wars relied heavily on this land route towards Kabul, other than these wars the natives remained comparatively peaceful towards the British presence in the valley. Turis are dark skin, follow their own code of life known as 'Torzan', they speak Pashtu and wear the same dress as by other Pathan tribes, other than these there is hardly anything common among them. It is an observation that other tribes do not eat any food especially meat prepared by Turi. In last fifteen odd years the agency has been hit hard by the militants, the targets were the Shias of Kurram, which are confined to the upper Kurram valley.

During the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, over 55000 Afghan refugees almost all Sunni were settled at Sadda near Parachinar, this off-balance the existing balance between the Sunni and Shia adherents; thus modern violence is deep rooted in that settlement of refugees in the area.

Orakzai Agency is the smallest among all the FATA agencies, having an area of 1800 square kilometres with a population of half a million. The agency is named after Orakzai tribe, the tribe have no less than eighteen sub clans, with three odd adhering to Shia faith.

North and south Waziristan agencies were raised on same day in 1895, North Waziristan was raised at ...before it moved to Miranshah in 1899, where as South Waziristan was raised at Ladda. In present context, all roads lead to Waziristan as the hub of militancy and fundamentalism. Not much is known about the past history of this area. Miranshah is named after the son of Tamerlane, it was the rise of Ghazna which brought into limelight these Aryan tribes, Wazir are the original and native 'son of soil' where as the Daur the other major tribe in North Waziristan is treated as 'hamsaya' by the wazir. In South Waziristan Agency which is the largest among FATA in terms of area, the demography is different, by virtue of its close proximity with settled districts and plains of Indus Valley, it is more homogenous in nature, Mahsud tribe the major tribe of south Waziristan were the first major tribe in Waziristan which were inducted in British border police and later in Levies, they were given the lands for cultivation too. Historically, the major source of income for wazir and Mahsud tribe was robbing and imposing levy on the caravans and getting subsidy from the Kabul or Ghazna.

Mullah Powindah - Fakir of Ipi – Osama Bin Laden

The three major campaigns which have been fought on frontier or in FATA region in last hundred years leaving apart one¹³ have been in the Waziristan area, they all had the religion as the basic factor, in all these three campaigns, the leadership remained with the native tribes and above all, no other Pathan tribe took part seriously when these three campaigns were being undertaken. Mohiuddin Mahsud alias Mullah Powindah {died 1913} was a Mahsud tribesman, not a religious scholar, yet he was able to ignite the tribesmen to initiate fighting against the British, although his influence remained among his tribe {South Waziristan} only and other Pathan tribes remained aloof from his leadership.

Mirza Ali Khan alias Fakir of Ipi {died 1960} had a similar rise to power and influence, he was a Wazir Turi Khel, it was the incident of a Hindu girl embracing Islam which set the scene for Mirza Ali Khan, a religious teacher in 1936 to rise to fame which is lasting till now. For eleven years British military might despite committing over 30,000 troops including air force, was unable to capture or kill

¹³ The campaign of 1992 against the Mullah Fazal alias FM Radio was in Dir, Swat area, other campaigns have been of short duration, like Anti Heroin campaign in Khyber Agency in 1995. Dir-Bajaur Operation of 1960 was also of short duration.

this man , operating in Tochi Valley {North Waziristan}, like the campaign of Mullah Powindah, Fakir of Ipi's campaign against British failed to create an over whelming uprising among the other neighbouring tribes, even Mahsud tribe generally remained aloof from Ipi. His death is a mystery even now, as none is sure about his precise location of grave.